

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE BETRAYAL.

'What will ye give me, and I will deliver him up to you?'—MATTHEW 26: 15.

Oh, ye who search, page after page, God's word,
Hoping to find some warrant for the guilt
Of slavery, that most horrible of sins;
That sin against God, your neighbor and yourselves,
For it degrades the nature you partake,
Pause, when ye read the Gospel of our Lord;
Study it deeply, meditate upon it,
And sit with humble Mary at his feet:
Pray for a spirit meek and teachable,
Meek, teachable, and trusting as a child;
Pause, when ye read of Judas—he who sold
His Master unto death: How would you start,
And haughtily deny the atheist's name,
The atheist's unbelief? Yet have ye not
An atheist-heart? For every heart that owns
A maker—God, a master—Christ, must strive
To keep the precepts taught us by that Lord.
Hear your great Master's words, the Lord whose name
Ye call you by, O self-styled Christians! hear!
'God is your Father; men are brethren all:
As ye would have your brother do to you,
So do ye unto him.' And read ye this,
Slave-masters and slave-hunters, and still dare
To buy and sell your brethren?—dare to hunt
With dog and gun, God's children?—dare to wound,
To maim, to kill Christ's brethren?—his, who said,—
'In truth I say to you, that forasmuch
As ye withhold all kindness unto such
As need your aid and sympathy, from me,
Your Lord, whose brethren these are, even from me,
Ye, in their persons, do withhold your aid.'

If thus neglect be sinful, think how great
Their sin, who hold God's children as vile slaves!
Dare not to call you by Christ's name, yet ask,
Like scold Judds, 'What will ye give me,
And I will sell Christ's brother unto you,
Sell you the little ones like these his best,
Sell you the wife, the mother, sacred names?
Can ye not thus if ye believe Christ's words?
Can ye believe God is omniscient?
Dare ye reflect he reads the inmost heart?
He reads the heart, detects the sophistry
With which you strive to gloss your crime, and plead
The Bible sanctions selling man for gold!

'What will ye give me,' said Judas, 'that I may
Deliver him ye seek into your power?
Ye dare not apprehend him in the city;
Pay me, and I will bring you in the night
Where he holds lonely commune with his thoughts;
Give me a band of soldiers, lest he call
His watchful, trusty friends to succor him.
What will ye pay me?' Wicked lust of gold!
That in the secret atheist-heart cries, 'Give,
Give, give me gold, and I will buy back return
The fugitive to bondage; my cold eye
Shall view, unmoved, his agony, when all
His hopes of freedom die; and my dull ear
Be deaf to all the pleadings of despair.
What do ye offer me to render back
The fugitive to slavery and chains,
Obedient to your Southern men's stern law?'
But, although gold be mighty, be the strength
Of powerful Mammon, and his worshippers
Be, like those sons of Baal, by myriads numbered,
Who, mocking, stood around Elijah's altar,
Yet as in Israel, so in thy fair land,
Columbia, are hearts noble and brave,
Noble, and brave, and true; not bowed to wealth;
Who never bought or sold the Savior's brethren,
Or, bribed by Judas-gold, or terrified
By base, ignoble threats, sent back the slave.

Glorious heroes none! to such as ye
My heart bows down in homage. Hero-worship,
Were such permitted, surely were your due.
Sufferers may style you unbelievers, but
Your actions show deep faith in God and goodness.
The thoughtless, selfish crowd brand you as evil,
Yet History will do you ample justice, when
With proud pen she sums her worthies up,
America's glorious true men and women!
A prison may confine the outward frame
Of Slavery's martyrs; but their Lord has said,
'Blest are ye who suffer for the Right,
And men speak ill of you, and persecute:
All the kind acts ye have to sufferer done
Shall be accepted as if done to me.'

O Generous! O brave! how will your names
Enable your descendants! Kings may give
High-sounding titles; but posterity
Will render a heart-homage to the children
Of Slavery's martyrs—Slavery's glorious victors.
And when by penance and righteous laws
America is cleansed from slavery's shame,
No household names will be more dear, more sacred,
Than yours, courageous, self-denying patriots!

Kent, (England), Dec. 29, 1855.

From the Liberty Bell for 1856.

LINES.

SUGGESTED BY A LOCK OF HAIR FROM OUR DEPARTED
FRIEND, CATHERINE SARGENT.

BY L. M. CHILD.

That little lock of silvery hair
Reminds me of what friendly care
And gratefully my memory pays
Its tribute to departed days.
Thou good old friend, so kind and true!
Thy worth was known to very few.
Not in the glare of noon-day sun
Thy kind and gentle deeds were done;
And silently thy prayers did rise,
With offerings of self-sacrifice.
Not for thy goodness unto me
Do I revere thy memory;
But for the love that never failed,
The courage, too, that never quailed,
When the poor orphan breathed a sigh,
Or slaves required thy sympathy.
While statesmen argued day and night,
To settle whether wrong was right,
Thou hadst no need of subtle art,
Seeing truth with thy honest heart;
Religion was not unto thee
Any recumbent mystery.
God loves all, was the simple creed
Which served thee in each hour of need.
Guileless thy life, serene thy death;
And when had passed thy latest breath,
From thy attendant angel's glance
A light fell on thy countenance;
A gleam of bright celestial love,
Touching this earth from realms above.

HOME.

My place is in the quiet vale,
The chosen haunt of simple thought;
I seek not Fortune's flattering gale,
I better love the peaceful soil.
I leave the world of noise and show,
To wander by my native brook;
I ask, in life's untroubled flow,
No treasure but my friend and book.

PISCATAWAY.

A NIGHT-THOUGHT.

How oft a cloud with ev'ry veil
Obscures yon beautiful light,
Which seems so modestly to steal
Along the waste of night!
'Tis thus the world's obtrusive wrongs
Obscure with malice keen,
Some timid heart, which only longs
To live and die unseen.

THE LIBERATOR.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE
STATE CONVENTION OF COLORED MEN,
Held in the City of Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 16th,
17th and 18th, 1856.

The Convention was called to order by the Chairman
of the State Central Committee, and, on motion of
John Booker, D. JENKINS was chosen President, pro
tem., and John Booker appointed Secretary.

The Committee on permanent organization reported
the following gentlemen as officers of the Convention,
which report was unanimously adopted:—

President—JOHN J. GAINES.
Vice-Presidents—L. D. Taylor, C. H. Langston, A.
Plinn, Thos. Benford, C. A. Yancey.

Secretaries—John Booker, Granville Foster, W. D.
Harris.

The following Committees were then appointed:—
On Business: John M. Langston, C. A. Yancey, John
Booker, Charles Williams, John J. Gaines.

On State Organization: P. H. Clark, Charles Williams,
James Poindester, John Booker, A. J. Scott.

On Address: P. H. Clark, C. H. Langston, C. A.
Yancey, D. Jenkins, John Williams, Solomon Grimes,
A. Plinn.

On Petitions: C. H. Langston, L. D. Taylor, D. Jenkins.
On Finance: D. Jenkins, G. Johnson, J. H. Harris.

On Publications: C. H. Langston, John Booker, D.
Jenkins.

All the meetings of the Convention, after the first,
were large and enthusiastic. Every evening, the large
and commodious City Hall was filled to its utmost
capacity with anxious listeners, both white and colored.

The speeches made by Langston, Clark, Gaines, and
others, were logical, pointed, and eloquent, and were
delivered with earnestness and great power.

The Committee on Business reported the following
resolutions:—

1. Resolved, That slavery is to be deeply deplored,
because it is destructive of whatever things are true,
whenever things are honest, whatever things are
just, whatever things are pure, whatever things are
lovely, and whatever things are of good report.

2. Resolved, That it may be appropriately character-
ized as the sum of all villainies, the perfection of
all wickedness and outrage, the master-piece of all the
devices which Satan has invented to alienate man
from his brother man, and thereby destroy the happi-
ness of the human family.

3. Resolved, That we regard all organizations, whose
object is the maintenance of this stupendous system of
wrong, as engaged in a crusade against our holy reli-
gion, against the pure principles of righteous civil gov-
ernment, against the spirit and tendency of genuine
civilization, and against the tenderest and most im-
portant rights which belong to humanity.

4. Resolved, That we are compelled to believe, in
view of its own pro-slavery and uncharitable action,
in view of the inconsistent and unmanly conduct of its
agents and leading members, that the professions made
by the American Colonization Society, of promoting
the abolition of slavery, are altogether delusive, and
their pretensions of interest in behalf of the nominally
free colored people of the country, hollow-hearted and
contemptible.

5. Resolved, That we look upon the Society as the
embodiment of the pro-slavery sentiment of the country;
that its prime object is the perpetuity of slavery;
and, while it is unworthy of our confidence and support,
it should be despised and loathed by the friends of the
slave, as a foul and filthy plague.

6. Resolved, That the great political party which
finds its head in Franklin Pierce, and its pillars of
support in Cass and Douglas, in Aitchison and Stringfellow,
has pledged itself to do the mental offices of slavery, to
oppose all agitation of the question of Human Free-
dom, to make final the unconstitutional and inhuman
Fugitive Slave Law, and to ignore all the great prin-
ciples of justice which lie at the foundation of this gov-
ernment.

7. Resolved, That we pledge ourselves to each other
and to the slave, to use all the means in our power
to effect the overthrow of slavery and the destruction of
American prejudice.

8. Resolved, That we do not despair of the attain-
ment of this grand result; but, believing that God is
the God of the oppressed, we are confident that in His
own good time He will bring about our deliverance with
the same mighty hand with which He led forth the
children of Israel from Egyptian bondage.

9. Resolved, That unless we are greatly mistaken
in respect to the indications of Providence, the day of
our deliverance steadily draws nigh. May the God of
the oppressed hasten its glad and joyous consumma-
tion!

10. Resolved, That we rejoice in the death of the
Whig party, once a strong ally of despotism, in the
waning influence of the Democratic party,—the black-
hearted apostle of American Slavery,—we would wel-
come the inauguration of the Republican party, which,
although it does not take so high anti-slavery ground as
we could wish, demanding the immediate and uncondi-
tional abolition of slavery in the States, as well as its
eternal prohibition in the Territories belonging to the
Federal Government, may do great service in the cause
of Freedom, as the young, vigorous and athletic de-
fender of the Restrictive Policy.

11. Resolved, That we regard the great moral results
which are coming to pass through the agency of the
American Anti-Slavery Society with unfeigned grati-
tude and thankfulness, and we will bid it a hearty God-
speed in its moral warfare against slavery and its audacious
encroachments upon the rights of man.

12. Resolved, That we are opposed to all caste, to
all discrimination on account of complexion or birth-
place, and in favor of the broadest freedom consonant
to just and impartial legislation.

13. Resolved, That, in the name of our manhood, in
the name of justice and fair dealing, in the name of
our nativity, in the name of the political axiom that
taxation and representation are inseparable, and in
the name of our loyalty and devotion to our na-
tive land and her institutions, we demand the altera-
tion and amendment of all clauses in our State Con-
stitution making distinction on the ground of color, as
well as all laws and parts of laws making complex-
sional differences.

14. Resolved, That we recommend to the Conven-
tion the appointment of a committee to prepare a peti-
tion to be presented to the Convention for signatures.

15. Resolved, That the political party that declares
there can be no law for slavery, is the real political
party for freedom in the United States, and, as such,
commends itself to the countenance and support of
every colored man in the nation.

16. Resolved, That we recommend to the Convention
the appointment of a Committee of three, to prepare a
petition to be presented to the Legislature, asking that
honorable body to take the necessary steps to secure the
alteration of the 1st Section of the 9th Article of the
State Constitution, by striking out the word 'white'
from said section, and to repeal all laws and parts of
laws making complexsional discriminations; and we
would also recommend that the members of this Con-
vention be requested to circulate this petition for sig-
natures, in their several districts, as soon as may be,
and forward the same to the Legislature.

17. Resolved, That the Convention appoint a Com-
mittee of five on State Organization; the object of this
organization to be the arrangement of the debate in
such way as to secure efficient and united anti-slavery
action.

18. Resolved, That a committee of three be ap-
pointed to take into consideration, and report upon the
propriety, necessity and practicability of establishing a
permanent press, as the organ of the colored people of
the State.

19. Resolved, That the establishment of Mechanic's
Institutes, Agricultural Associations, Educational and

Literary, Temperance and Moral Reform Societies,
would tend to promote our social and domestic educa-
tion.

Whereas, it appears from proper information, that
former Conventions had contracted with J. M. Langston
and D. Jenkins to perform certain public duties, in the
discharge of which J. M. Langston expended thirty-
three dollars, of which but five have been refunded, and
D. Jenkins the sum of twenty-five dollars; therefore,

Resolved, That the delegates composing this Conven-
tion be requested to raise a fair proportion of said
amounts, in their counties, and forward the same to a
committee of three in the city of Columbus, who shall
have charge of said funds, and who shall appropriate
them to the satisfaction of said claims. We also recom-
mend that the claims of John J. Gaines and Peter
H. Clark, for thirty dollars, expended by them for
printing the Minutes of the Convention of 1852, be al-
lowed.

D. Jenkins, P. H. Clark, C. A. Yancey, were ap-
pointed that committee.

21. Resolved, That each delegate present be re-
quested to order a copy or copies of the Ohio Columbian,
containing the proceedings of our Convention, and be
requested to read such proceedings to their constituents,
and urge them to carry out the recommendations there-
in contained.

22. Resolved, That Messrs. Clark, J. M. Langston,
John S. Gaines, C. H. Langston, and L. D. Taylor, be
appointed a Committee to wait upon the Legislature
now in session, asking a hearing concerning the grievan-
ces of which we complain.

23. Resolved, That this Convention return thanks to
the City Council for the use of the City Hall; also, to
the officers of the Convention, for the manner in which
they have performed their duties.

PLAN OF STATE ORGANIZATION.

The Committee on State Organization reported the
following:

Whereas, The thorough organization and united ef-
fort of the colored people of the State is absolutely es-
sential to the success of the struggle in which we are
engaged for the acquisition of our rights; therefore, be it

Resolved, by the colored people of Ohio, in Conven-
tion assembled, That the State Central Committee shall
consist of ——— members, to be elected annually; and
the State Convention to be organized with a President,
Secretary and Treasurer, to perform duties as hereinaf-
ter defined.

There shall be appointed by this Convention a Central
Committee of five from each county here represented,
to perform duties hereinafter provided, and to hold
their office for one year, and until their successors shall
be elected and qualified by the people of their respective
counties.

The State Central Committee shall be empowered to
employ an agent or agents to traverse the State, holding
county conventions and township meetings of the col-
ored people, to print and circulate memorials and peti-
tions praying for relief from the oppressive laws under
which we suffer, to collect in each county the statistics
of wealth, education, mental and moral condition of
the colored people of the State, and to raise funds for
defraying the expense of said meetings, publications,
&c., and the Central Committee shall make out and
publish an annual report, embodying all the statistics
collected by said agents, the amount and mode of
expenditure of all monies collected by them or their
agents, and shall recommend such measures as they
deem important to the welfare of the colored people of
Ohio. And the agent or agents of the State Central
Committee and of the County Central Committees shall
report the amounts of money raised by them, quarterly,
or oftener if required, to the State Central Committee;
the county agents shall make monthly reports to the county committees.

Also, that the State Central Committee, and County
Central Committees, shall, immediately on their organiza-
tion, establish rules for the proper keeping of their
accounts, the mode of disbursing their funds, and shall
define the duties of their agents, and establish by-
laws for the government of their own action.

The County Central Committees shall aid and assist
the agents of the State Central Committee to hold
county conventions, township meetings, &c., or, as they
in their discretion, employ such competent persons as
may select, to lecture and circulate memorials, petitions,
&c., in their counties, and shall take measures to
have their counties represented in the annual meet-
ings of the State Convention, and do all that lies
in their power to advance the moral, mental, and finan-
cial condition of the colored people of the State.

That we proceed to raise the sum of three thousand
dollars, to be expended by the State Central Committee
for the before-mentioned objects; and that the dele-
gates be required to pledge themselves to raise, within
their respective counties, a reasonable portion of said
fund, and report the same to the Treasurer of the State
Central Committee, who shall give bonds for the secu-
rity of said funds.

The Committee on Address reported the following:—
ADDRESS.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the
State of Ohio:

GENTLEMEN:—We, the disfranchised Colored
Citizens of Ohio, assembled in General Conven-
tion, feeling deeply the grievous wrongs unjustly
imposed upon us by the prohibitions implied in the
first Section of the fifth Article of the Constitution of
the State, and knowing: 'the people have the right
to justice; and in doing right, justice will be done';
to counsel for their common good, and petition the
General Assembly for a redress of grievances; and,
believing it to be a solemn duty we owe to
ourselves, our posterity, and the honor and dignity
of the free State of Ohio, to use every constitutional
means which the law-makers of Ohio have left
in our power, to remove from our necks the bur-
dens too grievous to be borne; we do, therefore,
most earnestly, in the name of our common human-
ity, and in the name of the Declaration of Independence
and the Bill of Rights of the State of Ohio, ask
your Honorable Body to take the necessary con-
stitutional steps to strike the word 'white' from
the section before referred to, and all other places
in which it occurs in the Constitution, and there-
by to abrogate the unwise and unjust distinction
therein made between the citizens of the State on
account of the accident of color. The section re-
ferred to is couched in the following language:

Art. V. Sec. I. Every white male citizen of the
State, who has attained to the age of twenty-one years,
shall have been a resident of the State one year
next preceding the election, and of the county,
township, or ward in which he resides, such times
as may be provided by law, shall have the qualifi-
cations of an elector, and be entitled to vote at all
elections.

The first reason we will assign for the removal
of this odious word from the Constitution of a
professedly free State, is, that we are MEN. This,
to our minds, seems an all-sufficient plea. Human
rights are not to be graded by the shades of
color that tinge the cheeks of men, nor by the
scale of complexion, which is as insignificant as
the traits that serve to distinguish
humanity from the brute, is endowed with all rights
that can be claimed by the most cultivated races of
men.

That we are men, we will not insult your intel-
ligence by attempting to prove. The most bitter
revilers and oppressors of the race admit this, even
in the enactments by which they wrong us,
and in the regulations by which they control the
regulation and control of animals, but men, reason-
ing men, who can understand and obey, or plot to
overthrow. The section of which we complain, by
defining that white men may exercise the right of
franchise, virtually admits that there are black men
who are by the rule prohibited from voting. We
ask any who doubt our manhood, Hath not the ne-
gro eyes? Hath not the negro hands, organs, di-
mensions, senses, affections, passions?—fed
with the same food—hurt with the same weapons—sub-
ject to the same diseases—healed by the same
means—warmed and cooled by the same summer
and winter winds—the white man is? If you prick us,
do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not
laugh? If you poison us, do we not die?

We ask you to ponder the danger of circumscrib-
ing the great doctrines of human equality, which
our fathers promulgated and defended at the cost
of so much blood and treasure, to the narrow
bounds of race or nation. All men are by nature
equal, and have inalienable rights, or none have.
We beg you to reflect how insecure your own and
the liberties of your posterity would be by the ad-
mission of such a rule of constraining the rights of
men. Another nation or race may displace you,
as you have displaced nations and races; and the in-
tellect you touch, they may execute; perchance
they may better the instruction. Remember, in
your pride of race and power, 'That we are all
children of one Father, and all ye are brethren.'

But the principles upon which our Government
is founded condemn the practice of excluding col-
ored men from the advantages of the ballot box.
To uphold the principle, that taxation and rep-
resentation should go together, the union between
Great Britain and the American Colonies was
broken, and a desolating war of seven years' dura-
tion was waged. As proof of the correctness of
the principle, we have the declaration and action
of our fathers, and your own declaration, that the
color of man was no true in 1776, what new com-
bination of circumstances has arisen to render it false
in 1856? None whatever. It is one of those im-
mutable truths that change not with time or cir-
cumstances. They are emanations from the eter-
nal fountain of truth, which we all worship—the
Deity himself. Yet, in nearly every county the
State, colored tax-payers are found, who are un-
represented, and can only be heard in your halls
as a matter of favor. We are aware that differ-
ence of race is urged by our enemies as a reason
for our disfranchisement; but we submit that we
are not Africans, but Americans, as much so as
any of your population. Here, there is no great
justice done us, by refusing to acknowledge our
right to the appellation of Americans, which is the
only title we desire, and legislating for us as if
we were aliens, and not bound to our country by
the ties of affection every human being must feel for
his native land; which makes the Laphander pre-
fer his swart and skin to the sunny skin and sil-
ken garb of Italy; which makes the colored Ameri-
can prefer the dear land of his birth, even though
oppressed in it, to any other spot on earth.

But admit, for argument, that there is an ineradi-
cable difference between us and the whites of our
land. That very difference unites them to represent
us. Our wants and feelings are unknown, or un-
appreciated by them; nor can any one presume to
represent us whom we have not aided to select. In
our government, every citizen should be represent-
ed in the legislative councils, and this can only be
attained by permitting each one a voice in the
selection of representatives. No class of the white
population would be willing to concede to any
other class, however honest and enlightened, the custody
of their rights. To demand such a thing would be
deemed monstrous; and the injustice is not lessened
when the demand is made upon black men, in-
stead of white men.

Our want of intelligence is urged as a reason
against our admission to equal citizenship. The
assumption that we are ignorant is untrue; but,
even if it were true, it really affords an argument
for the removal of the disabilities that cramp our
energies, destroy that feeling of self-respect, so es-
sential to form the character of a good citizen.
Give us the opportunity of educating ourselves,
and we can do you no harm, and may do as much good;
and if we fail, upon us be the blame. We would
bring to your recollection that, by a decision of
your Supreme Court, a large portion of our people
are already in the possession of the elective fran-
chise. These men are not above the average of col-
ored men in intelligence or morals. They are edu-
cated under the same government, social influences
with the rest of us, and are no better fitted to
exercise the right of voting than their brethren. Yet,
by an accident of color, they are enfranchised.
What good reason can be adduced for permitting
the father to vote, and not the son—or the son,
and not the father, as is frequently the case? The
most chance intellect can at once perceive the in-
fidelity and injustice of such distinctions. But the
folly and injustice are equally great when the dif-
ference is made between white and colored men.

We are aware that it has been recently asserted
by a high political personage, that this is a gov-
ernment of white men. This we cannot admit.
In addition to the arguments we have already ad-
vanced, touching the doctrine of the universality
of human rights, we submit that the assertion
casts an imputation upon the veracity and good
faith of our fathers, who claimed the sympathy
and aid of the world on the ground that they were
contending for principles of universal application,
and desired to found a government in which the
doctrine of human equality would be reduced to
practice.

The Bill of Rights of the State of Ohio sets
forth 'That all men are created equal and inde-
pendent, and have inalienable rights, among which
are enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquir-
ing, possessing, and protecting property, and seek-
ing and obtaining happiness and safety.'

Now, admitted that we are men, how are we to
defend and protect life, liberty, and property? The
whites of the State, through the ballot-box, can
do these things peacefully; but we, by the or-
ganic law of the State, are prevented from defend-
ing those precious rights by any other than violent
means. For the same document that asserts our
right to defend life, liberty and property, strips us
of the power to do so otherwise than by violence.

We ask you, gentlemen, in the name of justice,
shall this stand as the judgment of the State of
Ohio?

We are aware that deference to the opinions and
actions of the States touching slavery, to whom
we are bound by the federal compact, may induce
some to oppose this our application for equal
rights. But those States, of all others, are the
most tenacious of their rights as sovereign
States, and reprobate all attempts to influence
their domestic policy by the action of public opin-
ion in other States. We pray you, therefore, to do
us justice; and in doing right, justice will be
done; and in doing right, justice will be done.

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actions of the States touching slavery, to whom
we are bound by the federal compact, may induce
some to oppose this our application for equal
rights. But those States, of all others, are the
most tenacious of their rights as sovereign
States, and reprobate all attempts to influence
their domestic policy by the action of public opin-
ion in other States. We pray you, therefore, to do
us justice; and in doing right, justice will be
done; and in doing right, justice will be done.

Now, admitted that we are men, how are we to
defend and protect life, liberty, and property? The
whites of the State, through the ballot-box, can
do these things peacefully; but we, by the or-
ganic law of the State, are prevented from defend-
ing those precious rights by any other than violent
means. For the same document that asserts our
right to defend life, liberty and property, strips us
of the power to do so otherwise than by violence.

We ask you, gentlemen, in the name of justice,
shall this stand as the judgment of the State of
Ohio?

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